

JOHN ABBOT'S LONDON YEARS

PART II

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III. Abbot enters Drury's circle of friends

If Jacob Bonneau could not contribute to Abbot's technique of colouring his illustrations, at least he was able to provide another service of considerable importance to the young naturalist. Bonneau "praised" Abbot's watercolours, and through a friend, a teacher of grammar named Rice who was a former collector of insects, secured his pupil's introduction to the owner of the most select and extensive entomological cabinet in England (N). Abbot vividly recalled his excitement at meeting Drury "Dru" Drury,²⁹ "who then was allowed to have the best Collection of Insects both English & foreign of any one. I leave You to Judge my pleasure & astonishment at the sight of his Cabinets the first I had ever seen of the kind [,] he very politely offered to lend me Insects to draw, & we immediately became well acquainted[.] That hour may be said to have given a new turn to my future life [,] I had immediately a Mohogany Cabinet made of 26 Draws, covered with sliding tops of Glass, it cost me 6 Guineas, & begun to collect with an unceasing Industry[.] "Abbot "met with & soon after purchased a parcel of beautiful Insects from Surinam," and "soon began to have a respectable Collection but not Satisfied with it . . . craved more" (N). Under the influence of his new mentor, and with ample funds provided by his parents, Abbot set out to increase his knowledge of entomology.

When he and Abbot met, Drury was not yet the Queen's goldsmith and cutler to the King at the Strand address so familiar to later eighteenth-century naturalists. He was still a silversmith and maker of knife and fork handles at 1 Love Lane, Wood Street, but he had already expended much effort and a considerable sum of money over a period of twenty years to enlarge his collection. Following in the tradition of a seventeenth-century predecessor, the London apothecary-naturalist James Petiver,³⁰ Drury obtained exotic insects by corresponding with residents of foreign countries, and applying for assistance to persons travelling abroad. He used Petiver's technique of supplying apparatus and instructions to prospective collectors.³¹ Drury's efforts were sometimes fruitless, but his net was spread wide enough and his financial resources were sufficient to insure a steady flow of parcels of insects to his London residence. Although his cabinet was best known for its numerous and occasionally unique exotic specimens, Drury also sought out English rarities. Unlike some eighteenth-century collectors who restricted their

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efforts to the more popular orders, such as the Coleoptera and Lepidoptera, Drury admitted all insects to his cabinet, and had a special interest in the Odonata (then included in the Neuroptera). He was not a 'closet naturalist' who depended entirely on others for his specimens. Drury's correspondence provides evidence that he was a very knowledgeable field collector, who was especially aware of the problems encountered in rearing. He could offer Abbot much good advice, as well as access to his cabinet and ample library.³²

Most of the events in Abbot's "Notes" are undated, and he did not record even the year of the occasion which gave a "new turn" to his life. Drury's name was not specifically mentioned in the annotations to Abbot's watercolours until October 1769, when he executed a composition of beetles and mole crickets "from the cabinet of Mr. Drury" (C71), yet evidence from previous drawings and the order of the "Notes" suggests that the meeting could have occurred as early as 1767. A watercolour of that year (H6) is the earliest of Abbot's surviving depictions of exotic insects. The "Notes" imply that Abbot had not seen a cabinet containing exotics before Drury's, and the Coleoptera in H6 were from Maryland and Jamaica, localities from which Drury had been well supplied. Abbot drew other American insects before C71, such as a spectacular geometrical group of swallowtail butterflies (C57, March 1769); no provenance is indicated, but the *Papilio glaucus glaucus* L., *Papilio troilus* L. and *Battus philenor* (L.) would have been taken on the North Atlantic seaboard, where Drury had collectors. Drawings dated between H6 and C71 (the latter including the earliest reference to Drury's name) mention the Duchess of Portland and George Edwards, and one would suppose from the "Notes" that these were later acquaintances. Abbot first used Linnaean trivial names when annotating his drawings for June 1767 (C12, "Pavonia of Linnaeus" and "Bucephala of D[itt]o"), possibly through Drury's advice or through the use of his new friend's library.³³ The 1767-1769 drawings surely reveal the effects of "unceasing Industry," Abbot's characterization of his efforts after seeing Drury's cabinet; from clearwings to caddis flies, he was collecting a wide variety of insects and arachnids, including many representatives of less popular orders. He was seeking out the larvae of a considerable number of moths and rearing them successfully (Bombycoidea, Geometroidea, Sphingoidea, Notodontoidea, Noctuoidea and micros). Some of his larvae had been parasitized, and perhaps inspired by Albin's plates which depicted these subjects, Abbot studied the ichneumons and drew their various stages. Not many localities were mentioned in Abbot's annotations of the period, but he visited Bishop's Wood, Highgate, a favourite spot of entomologists since the seventeenth century. He may have collected there in the company of his new mentor.

The frustrating brevity and selectivity of the "Notes" prompt speculation about which of Drury's many naturalist friends Abbot might have met during his residence in London. Drury was a member of the Aurelian Society, the second of that name, which was formed by the London insect-hunters "fourteen Years and upward" after the fiery dissolution in 1748 of the first Society, so vividly described by Moses Harris. Apparently the later Aurelians met at the King's Arms in Cornhill, after the tradition of their predecessors who also held forth at a tavern, the ill-fated Swan.³⁴ The secretary was Harris, entomologist and author of *The Aurelian*, which had appeared in parts between 1758 and 1766 to become one of the classic works on the British Lepidoptera. Harris executed most of the plates for Drury's own book on insects, *Illustrations of Natural History* (1770-1782).³⁵ Another of Drury's Aurelian Society friends was Emanuel Mendes da Costa, a polymath best known for his studies of fossils and shells, who would be committed in 1768 to the King's Bench Prison after embezzling an enormous sum from the Royal Society while serving as its clerk, librarian and keeper. During his incarceration, da Costa wrote the French translation which appeared in Drury's *Illustrations*.³⁶ The botanist Daniel C. Solander, a former pupil of Linnaeus and apparently an Aurelian member, was also a friend. Solander was then an assistant in the British Museum, engaged in cataloguing the natural history collections. He would soon depart with another naturalist well known to Drury, the young and wealthy Joseph Banks, on Cook's first voyage.³⁷ The horticulturist and nurseryman James Lee of Hammersmith, who was an ardent entomologist and Drury's associate in natural history enterprises over a long period, has been suggested as a probable Aurelian. Like Solander, Lee was an avid Linnaean who helped to promote the new system in England.³⁸

Elsa Allen concluded that Abbot was probably "associated" with the second Aurelian Society,³⁹ but this is very unlikely. Drury's correspondence reveals that the Society was dissolved early in 1767 due to internal dissent.⁴⁰ Although Abbot was successfully collecting insects at the time, he was only fifteen years of age; also, there is no evidence that he might have known Drury until later in the year. Drury's efforts to form a new Aurelian Society lasted well into 1768. He was assisted in the attempt by Solander and a more recent friend, another of Linnaeus' pupils then living in London, the Danish entomologist Johann C. Fabricius, who in later years described a number of Abbot's specimens in various cabinets.⁴¹ The plan was unsuccessful, and another entomological society was not established in London until 1780.⁴² But if the possibility of Abbot's membership in the second Aurelian Society can now be discounted, he had ample opportunity to know the various Aurelians, who remained as friends of Drury's long after the Society's downfall.

Abbot met at least one of the former members through Rice, who was partially responsible for his friendship with Drury: "One Day a Mr Smeathman a young Man introduced himself to me, by saying he understood by Mr Rice, I was a brother Flycatcher, and had come to see me." Abbot was "not fond of Strangers, but his Address & discourse, soon settled an immediate acquaintance" (N). This was Henry Smeathman, whose collecting efforts in Africa were to influence Abbot's decision to depart for America⁴³. Smeathman appears to have been a teacher of languages. He had formed a "small collection" of British insects, and Abbot later remembered that "among them [was] an English Purple Emperor [*Apatura iris* (L.)], it is rare, I never met with any myself, I gave him a Guinea for it" (N).⁴⁴ Another new friend was Margaret Bentinck, Duchess of Portland, who loaned Abbot insects from her famous natural history cabinet at Bulstrode in Buckinghamshire. The Portland collection was not as well developed in the entomological orders as was Drury's (the Duchess preferred shells), but David E. Allen has observed that at the time it was probably more important overall than the cabinet of the British Museum, and it received the constant attention of naturalists. Although Abbot did not mention visiting Bulstrode in his "Notes," he knew the Duchess as early as June 1768, when he drew a noctuid, *Griposia aprilina* (L.), from among her specimens (C37). Either Drury or Solander, who began to arrange her collection in 1764, could have effected the introduction.⁴⁵

Abbot met the naturalist and illustrator George Edwards as the result of a growing interest in ornithology.⁴⁶ Having gained so much help from *A Natural History of English Insects*, Abbot hoped to acquire a set of Albin's *A Natural History of Birds* (1731-1738), which was being offered at a book auction. His father attended the sale, but instead bought Edwards' four-volume *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds, and . . . other . . . Animals* (1743-1751). Abbot found the book "so much superior to Albins," and was "much pleased with the change" (N). As Edwards had published three more volumes, *Gleanings of Natural History* (1758-1764), Abbot and his father visited the old man at his London residence to arrange a purchase and complete the set. Abbot took along a number of his entomological watercolours, and as he recorded in the "Notes," Edwards "praised them much & desired me by all means to continue drawing, saying no doubt I would be a [p]ublisher hereafter of some work on Natural history." The visit must have taken place before 28 January 1769, when Abbot drew an exotic beetle which Edwards had obtained "fresh from a ship from the East Indies" (H7). At about the same time (N), Abbot received an especially welcome gift, a subscriber's copy of Mark Catesby's *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands* ([1729-] 1731-1743 [1747])⁴⁷ from a benefactress identified as

"Lady Honeywood, widow of Genl. Honeywood."⁴⁸ Recalling the acquisition of such important additions to his library as the Edwards and Catesby titles, Abbot would later observe that "all this you may suppose increased my love in general for Nat. history" (N).

One can well understand how the huge Catesby folios, with their descriptions and vivid illustrations of New World flora and fauna, and Edwards' less majestic but equally exotic volumes, could serve to broaden the horizons of a still-parochial seventeen-year-old student of nature. Moreover, the plates in Abbot's set of Edwards would greatly influence his own work as an artist. Although some time would pass before he began to execute coloured drawings of birds,⁴⁹ Abbot was to adopt the method of ornithological illustration used by Edwards, that which has variously been called "stump and magpie" or "stump and stare". In the tradition, the bird was characteristically perched on a stunted tree, stump or hillock, with sketchily-drawn natural surroundings, often on a smaller scale. The stylized embellishments were of secondary importance to the illustrator, who wished to emphasize the bird. Marcus Simpson has suggested that the tradition might appropriately be called the "bonsai style" because of the diminutive generalized environment in which the birds were portrayed. He has shown that from a number of antecedents, the style emerged fully in Pierre Belon's *L'Histoire de la Natvre des Oyseauv* (1555), and greatly influenced Western practitioners of bird art, including Albin and Edwards, for several centuries. Simpson places Abbot's ornithological watercolours in the mainstream of the tradition, and demonstrates not only a debt to Edwards' style, but also a direct borrowing of compositions and poses from specific plates by Edwards.⁵⁰

Abbot's dependence on a stylized tradition of ornithological illustration explains the greatly differing treatment of plants in his bird and insect compositions. In the former, he could dismiss botanical subjects as incidental embellishments, which did not have to be depicted in full detail or actual scale.⁵¹ However, when he chose to use plants in his entomological illustrations, they were primary and integral features of the composition; as foodplants, actual or supposed, they were to be drawn with the same fidelity (if not in the same detail) as the insects which fed upon them. Eleazar Albin had used the same dual concept in *A Natural History of Birds* (in the "stump and magpie" tradition, with stylized plants) and *A Natural History of English Insects* (which had normal botanical illustration). The plates in Abbot's copy of Catesby furnished examples of another eighteenth-century approach. Although the hillocks and stumps on which Catesby's birds are sometimes portrayed betray the familiar influence which he could not entirely escape, few of his birds were drawn in the stiff profiles characteristic of

Albin, Edwards, Abbot and other traditional illustrators. His style also differed in using fully-drawn and coloured plants. Catesby wished to include both animals and plants as primary subjects in his work, so he combined them on his plates, often with striking effect.⁵² As Abbot only portrayed plants as equal subjects when they served as pabulum for his larvae, he did not need to adopt Catesby's method.

In 1769 Abbot was articled to his father as law clerk and began his training to be an attorney,⁵³ although as he later recalled, "Deeds, Conveyances & Wills, &c. was but little to my liking when my thoughts was engrosed by Natural history" (N). He found whatever time he could for field work, rearing and painting, and in April 1770, when the eleventh annual exhibition of the Society of Artists of Great Britain opened in the Great Room, Spring Garden, Charing Cross, two of his entomological watercolours were among the works on view. Evidently Jacob Bonneau, who was a member of the Society, had arranged to have his former pupil included among the "honorary" (guest) exhibitors. According to the Society's catalogue, Abbot's address was then in Poland Street.⁵⁴ When the first volume of Drury's *Illustrations of Natural History* was published in May of that year, Abbot paid his friend £4/18 for "a best Copy unbound." choosing to commission the binding himself.⁵⁵ Little else remains to document Abbot's activities in 1770-1771 except his annotated drawings of the period, which reveal that he had attained his fullest powers as an entomological illustrator when he was less than twenty years of age.

Abbot continued to rear a variety of British moths and collect widely in many orders, but the most characteristic trend to be discerned in the watercolours executed during the several years before he departed for America is his growing interest in the Nearctic Lepidoptera. He painted a number of striking compositions of American butterflies and moths from his mentor's cabinet and his own growing collection, which had obviously benefitted from his admittance to Drury's group of friends. (Abbot could now participate in the division of duplicates when more extensive parcels of insects were received from overseas collectors, and he was occasionally able to purchase consignments himself.) Late in 1770 Drury was assembling exotic material for the second volume of his *Illustrations*, which was not actually published until 1773. One of his willing sponsors was a close friend, the Quaker physician John Fothergill, who was well known for his generosity in promoting works of natural history.⁵⁶ Abbot was acquainted with Fothergill, who maintained an extensive cabinet in his London residence and a botanical garden at Upton, Essex which contained one of the finest collections of rare plants in England. Like Drury, Fothergill obtained much of his material by furnishing overseas correspondents with directions and apparatus.

When the Jamaican planter and entomological collector Samuel Kuckahn (Keuchan) was resident in London in 1770, he met Drury and Smeathman, and sold Fothergill a small but select cabinet of insects from the West Indies, while auctioning a larger collection of insects, birds, shells and other natural history specimens.⁵⁷ Fothergill loaned his purchase to Drury so that appropriate insects could be described in the *Illustrations*. Considerable space was eventually devoted in the second volume to Kuckahn's Jamaican insects. Abbot drew a number of sphingids from "Mr Kuckahn's Collection" (C92), either before or after it was returned to Fothergill, as well as other exotics collected by Kuckahn (*e.g.* C89, C96) which were identified as in the Drury and Abbot cabinets. Kuckahn departed for Jamaica late in 1770, and in the following year Drury, who was eager to receive more material from the West Indies, began a lengthy correspondence with the planter, which incidentally revealed that Abbot and Kuckahn had not become acquainted in London.⁵⁸

Although Drury had illustrated and described a number of African insects in his first volume, he had never been able to establish a continuing source of supply. Several of his friends also wished African material, so in 1771 he wrote to Kuckahn that "If you was now in London it is very probable you would hardly be able to withstand ye sollicitations you would meet with to go to ye coast of Africa, because your knowledge & experience in natural history is so great as to make every collector desirous you should take ye lead in an affair of this nature."⁵⁹ But whatever Kuckahn's reputation might have been, he was in Jamaica, and it was Henry Smeathman who was eventually chosen to collect in the dark continent. Drury and Fothergill joined with Marmaduke Tunstall, an ornithological enthusiast who was building a substantial natural history cabinet,⁶⁰ in a subscription to finance Smeathman's voyage. Joseph Banks was persuaded to add his share, and the Duchess of Portland was a later contributor. Smeathman, who left for Africa late in 1771, was securely established at Sierra Leone by March 1772. During his African residence he would assemble extensive collections for his friends in London, but a more lasting result was one of the two classic eighteenth-century accounts of termites, on which his reputation as an entomologist is now based.⁶¹ One observer of Smeathman's activities was a dissatisfied law clerk who thought that his own time could be better spent in the sole pursuit of natural history. As John Abbot wrote many years later in his "Notes," "I now began to entertain thoughts of going abroad to collect foreign Insects myself."

NOTES

²⁹The best and most extensive notice of Drury Drury's life (1725-1803) is still the sketch by William Jardine, part of the "Naturalist's Library" biographical series, in Charles H. Smith, *Introduction to the Mammalia* (Edinburgh, 1842), 17-71. Also useful are John O. Westwood's preface and

commentary in his edition of Drury, *Illustrations of exotic entomology* (London, 1837); Arthur G. Grimwade, *London goldsmiths, 1697-1837* (London, 1976), 495-497; and Ambrose Heal, *The London goldsmiths, 1200-1800* (Cambridge, 1935), 144. The majority of Drury's surviving papers, including his extensive letterbook, 1761-1783 (retained copies of letters sent) are in the library of the Entomological Department, British Museum (Natural History), and I am grateful to two successive Librarians, Bernard Clifton and Pamela Gilbert, for access to these materials in person and through photocopy. Citations to the correspondence in these Drury Papers refer to pages in the "Drury letterbook, BM(NH)." C. Davies Sherborn, "Dru Drury," *J. Soc. Bibliophy nat. Hist.* 1 (1937), 109-111, has provided a list of and index to the correspondents. Some of Drury's letters have been printed by Theodore D. A. Cockerell, "Dru Drury, an eighteenth-century entomologist," *Scient. Mon., N.Y.* 14 (1922), 67-82. A number of Drury's notebooks, which record the provenance of many of the insects in his collection, are in the Library, Hope Entomological Collections, University Museum, Oxford University; photocopies have been added to the BM(NH) Drury Papers. Abbot wrote that before their meeting Drury "had been president of the Linnean Society" (N), but the Society was not founded until 1788, and Drury was not admitted as a Fellow until 1799. He was never president. The elderly Abbot evidently confused Drury with Smith.

³⁰The entomological activities of James Petiver (ca. 1663-1718) are mentioned by Wilkinson, *Benjamin Wilkes*, 4, and in the sources cited there.

³¹Drury's efforts to expand his collection are best revealed in his letterbook, BM (NH). He obtained forceps nets ("insect tongs") fashioned according to his pattern from James Bedford, a Birmingham ironworker who manufactured them for Drury by the dozen. Drury sent wooden boxes to his correspondents, each containing a forceps net (sometimes a clap net) and other equipment for collecting insects, including a pincushion stocked with various sizes of pins; for the method see Ronald S. Wilkinson, "The rise and fall of the pincushion," *Entomologist's Rec. J. Var.* 87 (1975), 142-146. The boxes often contained entomological specimens as samples so that the recipients would know what to collect – and, indeed, what not to ship, as Drury, who abhorred damaged insects and took pride in the condition of his collection, at times included a ragged butterfly. Also in the boxes were such luxuries as newspapers and books, and occasionally a bottle of gargle for sore throats, prepared from an old Drury family recipe.

³²Instructions and equipment were sent to prospective British collectors who lived at some distance from London, as relatively little was then known about the entomological fauna of the northern and western counties. Letters demonstrating Drury's practical knowledge are frequent in his papers. An outstanding example was written to Henry Symons, 15 January 1775, Drury letterbook, 338, BM(NH).

³³It is, however, uncertain whether Abbot annotated the earlier watercolours in the Carnegie set as they were completed, or at a somewhat later time.

³⁴Harris, *The aurelian*, v; David E. Allen, "Joseph Dandridge and the first Aurelian Society," *Entomologist's Rec. J. Var.* 78 (1966), 89-94; Ronald S. Wilkinson, "The great Cornhill fire and the demise of the first Aurelian Society," *Entomologist's Rec. J. Var.* 89 (1977), 250-251. Harris, *The aurelian*, v, suggests the hiatus of fourteen years or more, which would indicate a

1762 or 1763 foundation date for the second Society. The meeting-place is inferred from a statement of John Nichols, *Literary anecdotes of the eighteenth century* (London, 1812-1816), 3: 757.

³⁵Moses Harris (1730-ca. 1788) had a considerable influence on the development of British entomology. His work is discussed by Lisney, *Bibliography*, 156-175, and Ronald S. Wilkinson, "English entomological methods in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries," part III, *Entomologist's Rec. J. Var.* 80 (1968), 193-200. Drury's letterbook, BM(NH), reveals that Moses had two brothers who were interested in entomology; they were William, a London resident, and John, a harpsichord maker in Boston, Massachusetts. John Harris shipped parcels of insects from New England for Drury's cabinet; the duplicates were sold to other London collectors.

³⁶Or at least the first two volumes; Peter J. P. Whitehead, "Emanuel Mendes da Costa (1717-91) and the *Conchology, or natural history of shells*," *Bull. Br. Mus. nat. Hist.* (hist. Ser.) 6 (1977), 1-24. Da Costa was a member of both the first and second Aurelian Societies, having been admitted to the first on 7 February 1739/40; Nichols, *Literary anecdotes* 3: 757. Nichols printed a selection from da Costa's correspondence in his series. His collection of da Costa's papers is now in the British Library; Add. MSS. 28534-28544.

³⁷Roy A. Rauschenberg, "Daniel Carl Solander, naturalist on the 'Endeavour'," *Trans. Am. phil. Soc.*, new Ser. 58, part 8 (1958). Solander (1733-1782) arranged and identified the British Museum's insect collections in 1763-1764, and later furnished Fabricius material for descriptions; Ella Zimsen, *The type material of I. C. Fabricius* (Copenhagen, 1964), *passim*. For Banks (1743-1820) see Edward Smith, *The life of Sir Joseph Banks* (London and New York, 1911); Hector C. Cameron, *Sir Joseph Banks* (Sydney, London and Melbourne, 1952); and *The Banks letters*, ed. Warren R. Dawson (London, 1958). There are useful articles on Banks and Solander in the *Dictionary of scientific biography*. Banks accumulated an extensive entomological collection which was much used by Fabricius; Zimsen, *Fabricius, passim*. He has not been identified as a member of the second Aurelian Society.

³⁸Lee (1715-1795) owned a large cabinet of insects. Plates made from drawings of some of his Lepidoptera were published as *Coloured specimens to illustrate the natural history of butterflies* (London, 1806). His Linnaean manual, *An introduction to botany* (London, 1760), went through many editions; Eleanor J. Willson, *James Lee and the Vineyard nursery, Hammersmith* (London, 1961); Zimsen, *Fabricius, passim*. David E. Allen, "Joseph Dandridge,"⁹⁴ was the first to suggest Lee's possible membership in the second Aurelian Society.

³⁹Allen, "John Abbot, pioneer naturalist of Georgia," 146.

⁴⁰On 10 April 1767 Drury wrote to the Russian naturalist Peter S. Pallas, who was an honorary Fellow of the Society, that "our Aurelian Society is dissolv'd, therefore ye Books you were so obliging to promise will arrive too late. — Its dissolution has been occasion'd by some disagreements between Mr. Da Costa chiefly & some other Members, but I believe another Society if not two more, will be establish'd on its ruins one of w[hi]ch will be on a more general Plan"; Drury letterbook, 104, BM(NH). As late as 27 April

1767 Drury informed John Wright, a seedsman at Quebec, that he should ship any insects he thought proper: "I shall abide by the determination of the Aurelian Society for its [the parcel's] value." The letter reveals Drury's obvious hope for a speedy resuscitation; Drury letterbook, 106, BM(NH). (The Society had determined the monetary value of a number of shipments of insects from overseas collectors.) Drury later observed to Pallas that the Society "wanted but 2 or 3 more good Members to have made it become respectable, but Da Costa's Temper & Principle was sufficient to overturn a Kingdom"; "Dru" Drury (hereafter Drury) to Peter S. Pallas, 28 February 1768, Drury letterbook, 119, BM(NH). Much later, Drury wrote to a friend that "No Man ever entertained a greater regard for a society than I did for that & therefore its dissolution gave me inexpressible concern"; Drury to Martin T. Brünnich, 14 January 1770, Drury letterbook, 186, BM(NH). Brünnich, a professor at Copenhagen, had been an occasional visitor to the Society's meetings. Johann C. Fabricius, who characterized the Aurelian group as a small private society dedicated to research on insects and their transformations, agreed that the body was dissolved because of the inability of the members to get along with each other; *Briefe aus London vermischten Inhalts* (Dessau and Leipzig, 1784), 124.

⁴¹Fabricius' correspondence indicates that although he was introduced to Drury by Solander, he was not a member of the second Aurelian Society, which was defunct when he arrived in England in the spring of 1767. The London residences of Fabricius are documented in his *Briefe* and a paper based on the volume, Angus Armitage, "A naturalist's vacation: the letters of J. C. Fabricius," *Ann. Sci.* 14 (1958), 116-131. Zimsen, *Fabricius*, furnishes much additional information. Soren L. Tuxen, "The entomologist, J. C. Fabricius," *A. Rev. Ent.* 12 (1967), 1-14, is a useful introduction in English to Fabricius' work.

⁴²Drury's short-lived Society of Entomologists of London, about which very little is known, is not to be confused with the third Aurelian Society, founded by Adrian H. Haworth in 1801.

⁴³Fabricius, *Briefe*, 119-120, stated that Smeathman (who was one of his oldest friends) was a member of the second Aurelian Society. The only extensive account of Smeathman's life is that of Francis J. Griffin, "Henry Smeathman (?-1786)," *Proc. R. ent. Soc. Lond.* (C) 17 (1942), 1-9. There is a clue to Smeathman's year of birth. Emanuel M. da Costa, "Notices and anecdotes of literati, collectors, &c.," *Gentleman's Mag.* 82, part 1 (1812), 517, recorded that when Smeathman died on 1 July 1786, Drury indicated that he "was in his 42d year."

⁴⁴H24-25, undated watercolours, depict male and female specimens of *iris* in arrangements characteristic of Abbot's efforts in 1767-1768. The insects may have been from Drury's cabinet or perhaps the Duchess of Portland's collection. The female was taken "in Combe Wood the latter end of July."

⁴⁵Unless, of course, Abbot had the Duchess' insects at second hand. Comments about Bentinck (1714-1785) and her collections are in Allen, *The naturalist in Britain*, 29-30; Dance, *Shell collecting*, 103-107; and the *Dictionary of national biography*, in the entry for her father, Edward Harley (1689-1741). Abbot's C37 is annotated "Marvel du Jour. Duchess of Portland." It is dated 8 June 1768.

⁴⁶Edwards (1694-1773), librarian to the Royal College of Physicians, revealed much about his own life in his books, which contain valuable information about persons and events in eighteenth-century natural history. Lisney, *Bibliography*, 127-144, has furnished descriptions of the seven volumes for which Edwards is best remembered; see also *Some memoirs of the life and works of George Edwards* (London, 1776), published by the bookseller James Robson.

⁴⁷George F. Frick and Raymond P. Stearns, *Mark Catesby, the colonial Audubon* (Urbana, Ill., 1961) is a well-written account of Catesby's life and work. George Edwards recorded that his good friend Catesby (1683-1749) "put me on etching Plates myself, as he had done in his Works; and not only so, but invited me to see him work at Etching, and gave me all the necessary Hints and Instructions"; *A natural history of uncommon birds* (London, 1743-1751), I: xvii.

⁴⁸The search for "Lady Honeywood" has led scholars to a curious puzzle. "The Hon. General Honeywood" is listed among Catesby's subscribers ("encouragers") in the first volume. This was General Sir Philip Honeywood (d. 1752), whose honours are documented in Joseph Haydn and Horace Ockerby, *The book of dignities* (London, 1894), 764, 857. Elsa G. Allen was informed by the Honeywood family historian that the General did not marry; his conclusion was that Abbot received the Catesby volumes from the only Lady Honeywood supposed to be living at the time, Dorothy (Filmer) Honeywood (d. 1781), second wife of Sir John Honeywood; Sir William Honeywood to Elsa G. Allen, 3 August 1955, Elsa G. Allen Papers, Cornell University Archives. Allen identified Abbot's benefactress as Dorothy Honeywood; "John Abbot, pioneer naturalist of Georgia," 147. But General Philip Honeywood's will (Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills, f. 796, Public Record Office, London) indicates that Allen's informant was mistaken, and that Abbot may have been correct. The General was married, and he did leave a widow, Sarah. Her date of death has not yet been located.

⁴⁹No watercolours of birds are known to predate the series which Abbot began to send to John Francillon in 1792. However, the absence of extant drawings does not prove that Abbot waited so long to commence ornithological illustration. Francillon's letters to the Manchester manufacturer John Leigh Philips document the sale of many of Abbot's bird drawings to Chetham's Library, Manchester, between 1792 and 1809; Add. MSS. 29533, f. 75r-104r, British Library. Chetham's consigned the watercolours to Christie, Manson & Woods for auction, and they were sold with Abbot's relevant notes on 1 October 1980 to a firm of dealers who unfortunately broke up the extensive set for resale to individual customers. Luckily, coloured slides of the drawings had been preserved in the Elsa G. Allen Papers, Cornell University Archives, many years before.

⁵⁰Simpson, "The artist-naturalist John Abbot."

⁵¹Francillon's customers at Chetham's Library complained about the botanical content of Abbot's ornithological drawings, and the reply was surely one of the classic defenses of the "bonsai" tradition: "the Plants, Stumps & Moss. are not given as fine drawings, but only something for the Bird to stand or perch upon. . . those who see them should only examine the Birds, and look upon the rest merely to carry or support the Bird"; John Francillon to John L. Philips, Add. MSS. 29533, f. 96r-97v, British Library.

⁵²Frick and Stearns, *Mark Catesby*, 60-62.

⁵³Apprenticeship Books, Series 1. R. 1, 26, f. 17, Public Record Office, London.

⁵⁴Algernon Graves, *The Society of Artists of Great Britain, 1760-1791; The Free Society of Artists, 1761-1783* (London, 1907), *passim*.

⁵⁵MS. account book, Drury Papers, BM(NH). Drury explained in a letter that "my Work is colourd in general, in a common manner, the price of w[hi]ch is £2. 12. 6 agreeable to my Advertisements; but there are some Copies that I dispose of among my Friends that are done in a superior manner ye price of w[hi]ch is £5. 5. 0. I dare not mention this in my advertisements for if I did, I should never dispose of those of the common sort of w[hi]ch I have a number of Copies unsold"; Drury to Captain Davies, 3 July 1770, Drury letterbook, 206, BM(NH). Such friends as Abbot received "best copies," which, of course, cost less if unbound.

⁵⁶Richard H. Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and his friends* (London, 1919); *Chain of friendship: selected letters of Dr. John Fothergill of London*, ed. Betsy C. Corner and Christopher C. Booth (Cambridge, Mass., 1971). Fothergill (1712-1780) was a patron of the American naturalist William Bartram; Bartram, *Botanical and zoological drawings, 1756-1788*, ed. Joseph A. Ewan (Philadelphia, 1968).

⁵⁷Little is known about Kuckahn (Drury called him Keuchan) except the evidence in the Drury correspondence. The *Daily advertiser* (16 May 1770), 3, announced the auction: "To be Sold . . . by SAMUEL PATERSON, At Essex-House, in Essex Street, Strand, this and the three following Days, at Twelve o'Clock, A Capital Collection of American Moths and Butterflies, Beetles, and other uncommon Insects; some rare Birds, Shells, Animals in Spirits, and other Subjects of Natural History, collected by Mr. KUCKAHN, during his six Years Residence in various Parts of America and the West-Indies; the Whole in high Preservation. Catalogues may be had gratis at Essex-House aforesaid."

⁵⁸Drury wrote to Kuckahn after Abbot's departure that "a young Gentleman" had "gone to settle at Virginia in pursuit of Natural hist[ory] his Name is Abbot. . .," suggesting that Abbot and the planter had not met; Drury to Samuel Kuckahn, 21 January 1775, Drury letterbook, 339, BM(NH).

⁵⁹Drury to Samuel Kuckahn, 12 January 1771, Drury letterbook, 226, BM(NH).

⁶⁰Tunstall (1743-1790), author of *Ornithologia Britannica* (London, 1771), maintained the cabinet at his Welbeck Street residence. A brief account of his life is in the *Dictionary of national biography*.

⁶¹Henry Smeathman, "Some account of the termites, which are found in Africa and other hot climates," *Phil. Trans. R. Soc.* 71 (1781), 139-192, with admirable illustrations also by Smeathman, who was assisted in the taxonomic aspects of his paper by Solander. Smeathman's account was preceded by that of Johan G. Koenig, "Naturgeschichte der sogenannten weisen Ameisen," *Beschaft. berl. Ges. naturf. Freunde* 4 (1779), 1-28.